

Poetry.

For the Liberator.

GONE!

A TRIBUTE TO THE MEMORY OF OUR SOLDIER-MARTYRS.

"There is a tear for all who die,
A mourner o'er the humblest grave;
But Nations weep above the brave,
And triumph weeps above the brave."

Gone! and the banner of peace is waving
Over the land they died to save;
Gone! and Summer her garlands twining
Over each fair fold of Southern grave.

Green are the turf-mounds above our heroes,
Their spirits rest with the martyrs' God;
And a Nation bemoans in fearful reveries,
In grateful homage, above the sod.

Brave hearts and true! they never faltered
'Mid leaden rain or the iron hail;
Firmly they stood as the Spartan legions,
So world-renowned in Grecian tale.

Some fell 'mid the rush and din of battle—
Death came with the bullet and bursting shell;
Some slowly waited his lingering summons
In pain and anguish words may not tell.

And, alas! 'tis in the loathsome prison,
In lingering torture and bare hearts pine;
While hatred, with skill a fiend might envy,
Death's cold arms with untold horror twine.

They are laid to rest by the flowing rivers,
In quiet vales, and on hill-sides lone;
And thousands lie 'neath the ocean-billows,
Their only dirge the wild wave's moan.

In the opening dawn of early manhood,
The dew of youth on each young brow,
Their lives were pledged at Freedom's altar,
And truly well have they kept their vow.

We reap the harvest their life-blood sown;
The olive of peace from their graves doth spring;
And borne on the breeze in their spirit of triumph,
In the jubilee songs the Freedom sing.

'Tis ours their memories to fondly cherish,
With Fame's brightest garlands their names to entwine,
And ever remember the priceless treasure
They laid for us on Freedom's shrine.

'Tis ours to guard, with care and zeal,
The priceless gift their life-blood bought;
Remembering for aye the solemn lesson
We've learned—by sorrow and suffering taught.

And never again let Truth and Justice
Be bartered for Commerce's shining gold;
Knowing that tyranny, wrong and oppression
The Angel of Peace will never fold.

Brooklyn, N. Y., 1865. CARLIE.

RE-VISITED.

BY JOHN G. WHITTIER.

Read at the "Lauds," on the Merrimac, June, 1865.

The roll of drums and the bugle's wailing
Vex the air of our vales no more;
The spear is beaten to pieces of pruning,
The share is the sword the soldier wore!

Sing soft, sing low, our lowland river,
Under thy banks of laurel bloom,
Softly and sweet, as the hour becometh,
Sing us the songs of peace and home.

Let all the tender voices of nature
Temper the triumph and chasten mirth,
Full of the infinite love and pity
For fallen martyr and darkened hearth.

But to him who gives us breath for ashes,
And the oil of joy for mourning loam,
Let thy hills give thanks, and all thy waters
Break into jubilant waves of foam!

Bring us the airs of hills and forests,
The sweet aroma of birch and pine;
Give us a waft of the north wind, laden
With sweet-briar odors and breath of kine!

Bring us the purple of mountain sunsets,
Shadows of clouds that rake the hills,
The green repose of thy Plymouth meadows,
The gleam and ripple of Campton rills.

Lead us into shadow and sunshine,
Slaves of fancy, through all thy miles,
The winding ways of Penikeseet,
And Winnipisogee's hundred isles.

Shatter in sunshine over thy ledges,
Laugh in thy plunges from fall to fall;
Play with thy fringes of elms, and daisies
Under the shade of the mountain wall.

The cradle song of thy hill-side fountains
Here in thy glory and strength repeat;
Give us a taste of the upland music,
Show us the dance of thy silver feet.

Into thy daffodil life of sun
Pour the music and weave the flowers;
Let the song of birds and the bloom of meadows
Lighten and gladden thy hill and ours.

Sing on! bring down, O lowland river,
The joy of the hills to the waiting sea;
The wealth of the vales, the pomp of mountains,
The breath of the woodlands bear with thee.

Here, in the calm of thy seaward valleys,
Mirth and labor shall hold their true;
Dance of water and mill of grinding;
Both are beauty and both are use.

Type of the North-land strength and glory,
Pride and hope of our home and race—
Freedom lending to rugged labor
Tints of beauty and lines of grace!

Once again, O beautiful river,
Hear our greetings and take our thanks;
Hither we come as Eastern pilgrims
Throng to the Jordan's sacred banks.

For though by the Master's feet untrod,
Though never his host he stilled thy waves,
Well for us may thy shores be holy,
With Christian altars and saintly graves.

And well may we own thy hint and token
Of fairer valleys and streams than these,
Where the rivers of God are full of water,
And full of rap and his healing trees!

N. Y. Independent.

PATRIOTIC HYMN.

The following was written by Mrs. Julia Ward Howe, for the Fourth of July celebration in Boston.

Our fathers built the house of God;
Rough-hewn with hewn stone they laid,
The savage made in ambush to
And still they worshipped undismayed.

They wrought like stalwart men of war,
Who wrung the State from heathen hands;
Who bore their faith's high banner far,
And in its name possessed the lands.

The skill of strife to peaceful arts,
Their perils over, glad gave way;
The bond of freedom joined men's hearts
More near than men's compact may.

We, followers of their task and toil,
Inherited their dangers too;
Drove bloody rapine from our soil,
The oppressor dared, the murderer slew.

Our heavy work, like theirs, at end,
Returning from the death-won field,
Brother with brother, friend with friend,
Again the house of God we build.

Oh! may our ransom'd freedom dwell
In truth's own citadel secure,
And blessed guardians foster well
The mystic flame that must endure.

The flame of holy human love,
That makes our liberties divine;
Let such strong arms its champion prove,
And each true heart its deathless shrine.

The Liberator.

A CRITIC ADRIPT.

Among the too sweeping or otherwise inaccurate statements of a very able article entitled "The Drift Period in Theology," in the July number of the *Christian Examiner*, I wish to note the following:—

"The mind that thinks for itself will think for itself on all subjects. The will that asserts its own independence will assert its independence in every sphere. The reason that moves freely amid superstitious objects will soon insist on moving freely amid superstitious objects; and one kind of authority will be as easily dislodged as another."—pp. 8, 9.

If a not were supplied to each one of these sentences, they would express the truth more nearly than at present. The precise truth is, that independence of thought tends to become universal, though the obstacles that it meets in the direction of theology, and the misplaced reverence felt by the community for the professional manufacturers of these obstacles, still prevent free thought in that direction among fifteen in twenty of those who exercise it in other directions. This is shown, not only by all past history, but by the present state of the (measurably) independent men and women known to each of us. It is a contradiction of our whole experience to say that he who dares not venture in this or that particular direction has no independence. Everybody sees that the sailor takes risks that would appal the fox-hunter—and vice versa. But it is just as plain that, up to a certain point in his reformation course, Luther dared not consider the supremacy of the Pope as an open question, to be decided on evidence; and that he never, to the end of his life, dared to consider the doctrine of Biblical Inspiration an open question, to be decided on evidence. Inconsistency is a constant trait of human character, and it appears in this matter of independent thought not less than in other matters.

As to the last of the assertions above quoted, it is absolutely and entirely erroneous. Spiritual authority exceeds all other authority in tenacity and effectiveness. The late President Hitchcock, of Amherst College, had courage enough, in the pursuit of science, to meet "the world's dread laugh, which scarce the firm philosopher can scorn"; but when his creed came in question, when Geology came in conflict with Genesis, he dared not say more than that, by one method of explanation or another, the verses of the Hebrew Scripture might be made to accord with the facts written in granite and sandstone.

I quote another extravagant statement from the *Examiner's* article. Speaking of the Rationalists and other theological liberals in Germany, it says:—

"Eichhorn, DeWette, Paulus, Strauss, Schwegler, Baur, and the rest, put their shoulders against Church, Creed, Bible, and pushed them out into the current of general thought. They started with no purpose of unsettling the traditions of Christendom. . . . But the movement now started went on till it affected the whole intellectual world, and leaved the old Bible everywhere from its place in the regards of thoughtful men."

There could hardly be a statement more thoroughly erroneous than the one I have italicized. It grossly misrepresents the position even of Germany. Even there, the class of men fairly represented by the writers above mentioned is proportionately very small, and an immense majority of the churches of that country are either Roman Catholic or Orthodox. Extreme theological dissent, far from "unsettling the traditions of Christendom," has not even unsettled those of Germany. The great majority of its people hold the creed of half a century ago.

Our author uses similar extravagance of statement in regard to his own country, about which, at least, he ought to be well-informed. He assumes, in regard to the American people, "their complete emancipation from establishments and traditions." Free from establishments, are they? The Church of England itself is not more firmly established in a steady, blind adherence to its doctrines and usages, its faith and worship, than the Episcopal, and Presbyterian, and Methodist and Baptist sects in this country are in theirs. Free from traditions, are they? Let us see, taking for a specimen the most liberal among the group of sects which call themselves "Evangelical," the Orthodox Congregationalists of the United States.

During the very week while this *Christian Examiner* was printing, the representatives, lay and clerical, of three thousand churches of this order were holding a "National Council" in Boston. One part of their ten days' work was the manufacture of a "Declaration of Faith." They had power to act just as their consciences dictated in the premises. There was stuff enough for the purpose, of various materials and patterns—Old Unitarian, New Unitarian, Parkerian, Transcendental, Rationalistic, Spiritualistic—lying about all around them. Did they take a single step of all this timber? No more than if it had been the widgeon of Achan. They marched, in a solid column, in the old ways—by the old paths. They went, both figuratively and literally, down among the bones of the Pilgrim Fathers, and standing on the Barial Hill at Plymouth, they solemnly reaffirmed and adopted the same old dogmas that came over in the Mayflower. They seriously presented to their three thousand churches, as the best doctrines, theoretically and practically, for this present year of our Lord, the doctrines "held by our fathers, and substantially as embodied in the confessions and platforms which our synods of 1648 and 1680 set forth as reaffirmed." That is to say, they endorse, "substantially," the old "Cambridge Platform," the old "Saybrook Platform," the old "Savoy Confession," the old "Westminster Confession," and the old Catechisms, shorter and larger, compiled by the Assembly of Divines at Westminster. How much drifting is there about the position of these people! Let it be remembered that the men who took this ground were chosen by the three thousand churches to do this work for them. If they had preferred others, they would have sent others. They chose these because they liked them, and because they liked the ideas of these men were the known representatives. The vote of acceptance of this "Declaration of Faith" in the Council was unanimous. And the three thousand churches, most of whom have before this time read the full report in their newspapers, have not as yet uttered one word of dissent. Is there much drifting in this denomination?

Here is another instance of extravagant breadth of assertion, in regard to the effect of the movement called "Spiritualism":

"The fact, imaginary or otherwise, the inference, just or not, moved the received theology to its foundations, unsanctified every dogma, made the churches tremble, and set the creeds driving headlong down stream."—p. 13.

Spiritualism has done much, and has become a power in the world. But the things above rehearsed are precisely the things that it has not done; has not even tended to do. The little fact upon which this mass of exaggeration rests is that a very small proportion of orthodox church-members have accepted more or less of the theory of Spiritualism. Some remain in their churches, others have gone out of them. But, alike in each case, their change of belief has produced no effect upon the church, except to call forth expressions of contempt for the superstition, or holy indignation at the heresy displayed by the receivers of the new doctrine. As to the theology, the dogmas, the creeds held by those churches, they remain absolutely unaffected, in any manner or degree, by the existence and the success of "Spiritualism." The only important manner in which this system affects the Orthodox Church is in occupying the bustling ground that the Church wishes to monopolize, and pre-empting those in the community ("the world") who would otherwise be the natural prey of its proselytism.

Our author expends a page of really forcible rhetoric and logic, in showing how many dogmas of the Orthodox Church are annihilated by the premises of Spiritualism. But wait a little. To logical reasoners, who receive these premises as true, such an effect

undoubtedly follows. But neither by the churches as bodies, nor by any but an insignificant minority of their individual members, are those premises accepted. They are sincerely looked upon by these people as either superstitious or wicked, and at any rate as baseless and foolish. Select an orthodox church-member (hitherto untouched by this influence) for experiment, and you can as easily convert him to Brahminism or to Spiritualism. The "rappings and tappings," the "communications," the "appearances," glide off from him like water from a duck's back. He does not for a moment look at them as matters to be seriously considered; as matters possibly true. His armor of bigotry effectually withstands all such assaults. Greatly, therefore, as the community has been moved by Spiritualism, the Church and its creed remain unmoved by it.

The writer of this article proceeds to declaim and argue against the system or the school called "Theism." To him, "Theism" seems not only far off, but aside from the road. Unfortunately, he does not define it—for to call it "the religious belief of the pure reason" is not defining it—and until this shall be done, we cannot tell whether it is "aside from the road."

Theodore Parker sometimes used the word "Theism," meaning by it "the absolute religion," or pure Christianity. The advantage of the term was three-fold, as I understand it. First, to express a religious system, the opposite of Atheism, both in faith and character; and next to distinguish it on one side from Deism, the sacrilegious (not necessarily irreligious) recognition of the existence of God—and on the other side from the thing popularly known as Christianity, which includes much erroneous and irrational tradition.

Parker spoke of Theism as the religion of the future. I understand him to mean, not that it will supersede Christianity, but that it will supersede the erroneous estimate of Christianity now prevalent. He believed that the follies and errors which the majority in our country now receive as not only parts, but the most important parts, of the Christian religion, will be recognized, with the increase of knowledge, as foreign to, and inconsistent with the admirable system really taught by Christ; and that, therefore, the religion of the future will be at once purely Christian, and very different from the present popular estimate of Christianity. Theism, then, as Theodore Parker uses it, instead of being "the religious belief of the pure reason," and thus out of the reach of the majority of men, is rather the result of the exposure and rejection of those errors which tradition and priestcraft have attempted to fasten upon Christianity, and to represent as component parts of it. In his mind Theism, and pure Christianity, and the Absolute Religion were one and the same thing.

Miss Frances Power Cobbe, to whose advocacy of Theism the critic in the *Examiner* refers, differs from Mr. Parker in the point just mentioned. She considers Christianity as really including some errors and superstitions, and therefore expects Theism, accepted as a better system, to supersede it. But the critic utterly misrepresents both these able writers, and also the system which they call Theism, by saying (for the same page which records their advocacy of it) that "whatever, have taught much decidedly the need, the usefulness and the comfort of prayer, than Mr. Parker and Miss Cobbe. They both speak of it with enthusiasm, as a prominent part of their religious system, and an essential element in a religious character. Indeed, the very definition of prayer given by Theodore Parker—"an effort of the soul to enter into communication with the Heavenly Father, and to obtain somewhat of Him"—shows the error of saying, as the critic does, that Theism cannot yield to the impulse of prayer, "cannot improve."

Some of the objections to Theism stated by this Unitarian critic are no less than amazing. He says, p. 20—

"Under Theism, stated and formal worship tends to decline; for, in his view and under its influence all life becomes worshipful, all service is divine, the distinction between sacred and secular is abolished, all days are holy days, and all work is holy work."

Would it really be a loss to substitute the teaching which tends to produce this state of things for the teaching under which our use of Sunday as separate holy time has grown to be what it is? In my judgment it would be great gain. But the writer goes on to complain of Theism as establishing a sublime and majestic monotony throughout the universe. Under this system, he says—

"The central Being blots out subordinate divinities as the sun blots out the stars."

Very true! But what subordinate divinities does the Unitarian critic wish to retain? And is the rule of the wisest and best objectionable from its monotony?

Equally amazing are the two pages of fervent calumny (21–22) bestowed on the system called Pantheism, and the declarations that the tendency of modern speculation is towards it, and that the (continental) European mind and the American mind are saturated with it. Whether these things be so or not, the assertion that "Theodore Parker was as much Pantheist as Theist" is utterly erroneous. The whole scope of his writings, like in sermon and essay, in letter and spirit, contradicts this assumption. His God was the conscious, actively-loving Father and Mother of each individual of the human race. He seems never to have even leaned in the Pantheistic direction. The very existence of his volume of Prayer suffices to contradict the critic's assertion, and the letter and spirit of every one of those prayers intensify the contradiction.—C. K. W.

THE RENOVATION OF THE SOUTH.

Among the many suggestions relative to the development and renovation of the South, there is one that seems to have not received due attention from the public. That the rejuvenation of that section must involve the rise and progress of the colored people now there, and their descendants, will probably not be denied by any reasonable mind. That it will be a long time before the whites, especially the poor and degraded class, will admit the claims of the negroes to anything like equality of civil rights, is equally manifest; for there is no doubt that they, as a class, are more deeply sunk in vice than the blacks. And while the blacks there is some truth in the statements of Gen. Banks and others in regard to the mortality of the blacks, during the last four years in some sections, it must be remembered that the mortality has always been great. The severe and prostrating labor of the sugar culture, spurred on by the cupidity and avarice of the white masters, annually consigning multitudes of the poor slaves to an early grave—in the climate, too, best adapted for their comfort. And again, while the negroes have died by thousands, the whites have gone by camp-life, battle, and domestic privation, by tens of thousands; and to speak in general terms, the bone and sinew of the superior color, so called, has withered before the brightness of the coming of the day of regeneration.

We leave out of our present reckoning the criminal class of wealthy planters and rich aristocrats who made war, dominated over the people, and ruined themselves; for by the terrible power of confiscation, rigidly followed up by the government, they will be reduced to poverty, and made to swell the ranks of the poor and ruined whites. No great help then can be expected of them for one generation at least. The middle-aged will encounter the earth a few years, drag out pitiable lives in poverty, and their sons and daughters, taught, or impelled by the strong hand of necessity, will become laborers and artisans, like other civilized men, and rise slowly in the scale of intelligence and thrift.

So, then, if we cast about for domestic elements with which to work out the rehabilitation of the South, the only class, reliable for the purpose, now there, are the colored. They are measurably healthy, strong, robust and fruitful, inured to physical labor. A fortune in itself, for a self-dependent class, and the first

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element in the line of commercial value on which to build a commonwealth—adapted to that section in which the white man does not and cannot flourish, and what is more to the point, of amiable and docile disposition, and ardently desirous to learn from books. They also possess fair mechanical genius, and a capability to rise to eminence in the line of artistic skill and beauty, and more than all, are devoutly religious. Slavery has, by its godless infidelities, and selfish greed for gain, engrained on them too many of its baneful influences to be got rid of at once; and doubtless multitudes will be influenced and injured by them, till a new generation springs up that has not known the taskmaster. But, with all these elements in the problem, this is the only reliable class of persons in the South that can be claimed as ready co-workers in the labors of Southern development.

Now, this class, just emerging from bondage, must either be left to grope their way slowly, through many mistakes, frauds, cheating, and robberies, or at least through great tribulation, to the light of self-reliance and self-dependence, so that they can act together in unity and with efficiency; during all which time they will, as now in Tennessee, have the ill-will of the whites, whether Unionists or rebels, and be made the unhappy objects of ungodly, discriminating laws, or else they must have help from their true friends in the North. And now we come to the gist of our argument. We have at the North, in decent abundance, the very elements of help and moral influence to them, specially adapted by nature, grace, and education for this blessed work. We mean our intelligent, well-educated, well-cultured friends and neighbors, whose record through all these years of prejudice, abuse, contempt, and oftentimes outrage, has been of the noblest type of Christian forbearance and eminent manhood. Our colored citizens, all over the old free States, have always been an improvable and improving class, ready and willing to learn, using well the smallest advantages, and gradually climbing higher in the scale of educated excellence; till now, for numbers, and eminence of ability, of its best developed members, it rivals the whites. How wonderful the change we have seen in twenty-five years! Then not a colored lawyer or physician in the United States; very rarely a colored teacher; very few colored scholars; some decent colored ministers; very rarely a colored public speaker who could command attention. A few had accumulated wealth, but they were hardly known outside their own circle. Now let any one investigate, and he can find cause to open his eyes wider than ever.

Now this large element of intelligent and refined colored people have a great and grand duty to perform towards their fellow-sufferers in the South. Their advice would be heeded. Their words of instruction would be listened to, and believed. Their teachings would find acceptance everywhere. Their refined and gentle manners would inspire the uncultivated black, by showing him what is attainable to the negro. The poor slave, now a freedman, perhaps feels that he never can rise to the dignity of the white folks of the better class around him. But let him meet with one of his own race who has done it, and he will inspire active hope, ardent resolution, and determined effort. We verily believe that if a deluge of twenty or thirty thousand of our excellent colored people could be properly scattered among the freedmen of the South, one year would witness such moral and intellectual progress as the world never saw before in the same time, among the same number of people.

All of our colored friends would be more or less teachers there. And they would naturally be the leaders, the influential men, the molders of public sentiment, the developers of that great mass of humanity that is to make so prominent a part of our future civilization. Ethiopia is to stretch forth her hands unto God first in the United States. Sooner or later, the belt of territory around the Gulf of Mexico, from Charleston to Vera Cruz, will be in the grasp of the strong-armed black, and he must have furnished him intelligent brains to wield its destinies well. There is untold wealth in that region. It is the gateway to the tropics, to paradise. The whole temperate zone will pay tribute to it for its semi-tropical productions, and the colored residents there will command the Bourse of the world, with the rice, cotton, sugar, semi-tropical fruits, and probably coffee and tea. Perhaps many new varieties of vegetables may grow there. Who knows but the mandioc, cocoa, palm and other fruits may flourish there? We want energetic colored men there to try it, to make the discovery, and get the benefit of it; to build the towns and cities, railways and canals, mills, school-houses, bridges, ships of the live oak, and man them all over the seas, developing a commerce that shall shame the gluttonous and riotous Babylonians that now deride the negro as a baboon, and sneer at his civil rights as though he were an outcast.

Now, is not here a field of effort, which our friends in Boston, New York and Philadelphia would do well to explore? Is it not safe to say that they can now organize, with the aid, if needed, contributed by their sympathizing friends, if not by the government, and send into all parts of the South persons as teachers, mechanics, preachers, speculators, developers of the industry of that region, who would enable the freedmen to master the situation; and work intelligently to the great end of building up that section on principles of right and justice, which are the only sure foundation against the contempt of men and the wrath of God?

And how easy now for them to get a foothold! The government actually needs them. Land is plenty and cheap, and by going into the right sections life would be secure. Old South Carolina ought to feel, first of any State, the expanding influence of colored effort. That State, ought to be taken possession of by the free blacks of the North. It is hoped they will stand ready, organized with the requisite funds, to purchase every confiscated estate. We want to see those fertile river valleys cut up into small farms, owned and cultivated by the colored citizen, and developed into a young garden of Eden. And it can be done by our Northern neighbors if they will organize soon, and go earnestly to work for the purpose. And now is the ACCEPTED TIME.

FROM SOUTH CAROLINA.

Extract from a letter, dated "Camp Detachment, 55th Mass. Vols., Fort Mott, S. C., July 9th, 1865."

"We have here, every day, to see us, specimens of the so-called Southern chivalry. They all acknowledge themselves whipped, and are now very desirous to have things here as near as possible as they used to be. They are constantly complaining of the influence and independence of the negroes. On the other hand, we have numbers of the freedmen visiting us, and complaining of the brutality of their former owners; how the planters have threatened to shoot them, prohibiting them in many places from leaving the plantation without passes, and whipped their children. Across the river, and only five or six miles from us, a colored man was shot dead a little over a week ago. We sent an officer and a squad of men to arrest the murderer, but he was not to be found. We are in hopes to catch him yet, and bring him to justice.

Many of the planters try to drive as close a bargain as they can in their contracts with their freedmen; and if they could possibly avoid it, would make no contract at all with them. If the planters are allowed to get control of the civil authority in this State again, there will be serious trouble. They are likely to pursue the same course that the West India planters pursued after emancipation there. The sooner these plantations are broken up, and divided into small farms, the better it will be for all classes here. Allow the negro the ballot, get a Northern and foreign emigration to come South, and the institutions and customs of the North will soon get the upper hand, and all will be well."

We heartily endorse the views of the writer of this letter as to what should be done in the premises.

RESOLUTIONS OF THE RADICAL GERMAN.

The Radical Germans lately assembled at Indianapolis, and the following are some of the resolutions adopted on that occasion:

The Southern rebellion and the war produced by it have not only shown the corruptions of slavery, and the inconsistency of the doctrine of State sovereignty in the true light, but also proved the dangers which are connected with the present system of Executive power—a system which places the fate of the whole nation in one man's hands; which makes the salvation or destruction of the republic dependent upon the person of one single man, having the entire disposal for a succession of years of all the forces and all the means of the country; and which gives also to this man, through a truly royal patronage, a corrupting influence, which can be counterbalanced by no action of the people. Such a system is thoroughly anti-democratic; it is truly monarchical, and engenders at the same time, with a continually growing tendency towards centralization of all power, in the same proportion, a growing danger for democracy and republicanism. We hold it as a pressing necessity of the times that the present monarchical system of Executive power be changed; that the Executive be united with the Legislative, and exercised through a committee of the House of Representatives; and through direct dependence of the latter upon the people, a true democracy will be established.

We hold to the most decided maintenance of the Monroe doctrine, so much the stronger the more we have learned to know from our own experience the fruits of the monarchical system, and to know how to estimate its corrupting influences in its contact with republican institutions. But we hold it to be false policy to limit ourselves to the defensive in preparations against those influences, and to leave to the enemy time to fortify himself in his strength, and to form dangerous coalitions. We are of the opinion that monarchical intervention in America should be opposed by republican intervention in Europe, and that a suitable support of the European revolution is the most effective, surest, and at the same time cheapest means to make an end forever to all monarchical intrigues on this continent.

The principle of non-intervention of the State authorities in matters of religion and faith is certainly recognized in the Constitution, but the hesitating and constant violation of the same has degenerated to a real institution. The State must maintain the rights and duties of the citizens, but not control their belief and their thoughts. The appointment of days for fasting and prayer, the Sunday constraint, the oath on the Bible, the opening of legislative assemblies with prayer, the exclusion of Infidels from political rights, &c., are direct violations of the Constitution; they make out of religion, which can and should be only a private matter, a State business. Since they only proceed officially from a certain, here predominant, faith, they do violence to every other faith, and every person who thinks otherwise to become either a transgressor of the law or a hypocrite. Judging by previous practice, the republic is pursuing the same course which monarchies have pursued, namely, to install a prevailing State religion as a means of policy, deprivation of certain rights, and tyranny. We, who have learned in Europe the insupportable nature of this tyranny, which places the priest as assistant beside the politician, and the policeman beside the priest, declare our most decided opposition to it, and hope to see the republic secured against the dangers and disorders which the making use of religion by the political power must inevitably bring about.

On the other hand, we wish as decidedly to be secured against the dangers which arise from abuse of the so-called religious freedom. We are of the opinion that a hierarchical organization, which is under the direct command of a foreign potentate, namely, the Pope, stands opposed not only to the spirit of the Constitution, but is a direct violation of National sovereignty, which can tolerate no functions from servants of any foreign rulers without special permission under precautionary conditions. No monarch can concede to the servants of the Pope the dangerous independence and powerful position which they possess in the United States. The Romish hierarchy has already become co-equal in the republic, and she strives there, as everywhere, to become sole ruler.

Although the United States, through their greater freedom and rich resources, offer to poverty and labor better means for relief, and more opportunities for self-activity than other countries, still the condition of the poor and the situation of the working population here also, is not of such a kind that they can be left to themselves. The strife between abused labor and abusing capital is here as little adjusted as elsewhere, and legislation, which has so far all efforts to curb the passions of the laboring class, is still everywhere in the hands of the monopolized. We regard it as a pressing necessity to provide for the laboring and neglected classes a stronger representation in the Legislature, and to assert there the principle that the State's help in all cases must come to the relief, where, for any individual, his own help is not sufficient for the satisfaction of just demands, and for securing an existence worthy of the dignity of a man.

For the Executive Committee.
K. HEINZEN, President.
H. LIEBER, Secretary.

MR. NABBY LAYS DOWN A PROGRAMME FOR THE COMING CAMPAIGN.

SAINT'S REST. (which is in the State of N. Y.)
No Gervay's, June 12, 1865.

These are the dark days of the Democracy. The misfortune that befell our army in front of Richmond, the fall of our kappitry, followed by the surrender of our army to Grant and Sherman, has hurt us. Our leaders are either pinin in loathsome dungeons, incarcerated by the heavy-duty, mande-droxy, tyrannical edicts of our late lamented President, or in ark-bark in the free air of Italy and Kanady. We have no way to keep our voters together. Opposit the war won't do good, for before the next election the belt of our voters will have dispersed that the war is over. The fear of drafts may do us in in sum parts; but that can't be depended on.

But we have no resource for a lshoo—there will fall be a Democracy, so long as there's a nigger. There is a uncompromising dislike to the nigger in the mind of a genuine Democrat. The Spanish bull-fighter, when he wants to insure a full extra cavortin, waves a red flag above him. When you desire a Democrat to froth at the mouth, you will find a black face will answer the purpose. There's the nigger is, to-day, our best and only hold. Let us use him for the point in the campaign.

For the guidance of the faithful, I shall lay down a few plain rules to be observed, in order to make the most of the capytte we have:

1. Allaz assert that the nigger will never be able to take care of himself, but will allus be a public burden. In such an emergency, the duty of every Democrat is plain. He must not be allowed to neither give him employment, to work with him, to work for any one who will give him work, or patronize any one who does. (I would reject that such us as her him foretrot on off a get credit, pay a trifling amount, so as to make out a position and worth outin.) This course rigidly and persistently followed up, would drive the best of em to stealin, and the balance to the poor-houses, proovint wot we have allaz claimed, that they are a idial and visus race. Think, my brethren, wot a inspirin effect our poor-houses and jails full of niggers would have onto the people! My sole expan is I contemplant the delitful visus.
2. Likewise assert that the nigger will come North, and take all the good places, throwin all our skill mekkaniks out of work by underbidin em. This mite be open 2 obgreshuns, to wit: 1. It crosses slittly Rod the 1, and men mite say, if there's just enuff labor for war's here, why not perhibit farriers from coming? I answer: Its the biznis of the voter to reconcile the contradikshun—he may believe either or both. Ez to the skunk obidishun, where is the Democrat who cooden't be underbid, and stan it even to starvashin, if the underbidder was dun by a man of the proud Kankashan race? and wher is the Democrat so lost to manhood ez not to drink blud, of the same underbidder in the nigger? The starvin for work mite be the question. It's the color of the cause of the starvashin that makes the differ.

Nigger equality may be workt agin 2 advantage. All men, without distinction of sex, skin, fond up with flatter themselves that somebody's lower down in the

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scale of humanity than they is. Ez I want for nigger, wot would the Democracy do for somebody's style up wimmen on our side ez nigger?

In times gone by I've noist guinea virgin or full 16 hands high, and tuff ez wire, hold a shd Nigger Equality. You